

PEACE NEWS

No. 444 December 15, 1944 2d.

P.P.U. Council decisions on: INTERVENTION IN GREECE

A RESOLUTION deeply regretting the armed intervention by British troops in the Greek political crisis was carried by the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, meeting last week-end.

The resolution also recorded the Council's intention "to approach the Independent Labour Party, Labour Pacifist Fellowship, and other kindred bodies with a view to propagating the following policy:

"(a) The promotion of mediation and reconciliation by an envoy of the British Government between the conflicting parties in Greece in order to create an interim government to hold office until a general election is held;

"(b) To urge the securing of international control to ensure the operation of a secret ballot at a general election;

"(c) To press for steps to be taken to remove Allied pressure on the Greek Government to prevent or promote governmental changes;

"(d) To secure immediate food-relief measures and an assurance from the British Government that the threat of withdrawal of food shall not be used as an Allied sanction."

CONSCRIPTION

The National Council also recorded, in another resolution, its opposition to military conscription, and declared that it is prepared to work with any other body that is also opposed to it, so long as pacifist principles are not compromised.

(On Dec. 6 the House of Lords debated the post-war military situation, with particular reference to military conscription after the war. While there was a great deal of support for the idea of post-war conscription, Lord Selborne (replying for the Government) declined to give any indication of the Government's intentions.)

"DIRECTION"

A further resolution expressed the Council's opposition to industrial direction under penalty of fine or imprisonment.

PLANS FOR FUTURE

The Council approved plans for a re-shaping of the committees responsible for policy and public activity, in view of the changes of emphasis in the activity of the movement which are expected to become necessary in the future.

We hope to publish next week details of the changes which have been made, together with an explanation of how they are expected to affect the work of the movement.

Unexpected help

A MEMBER of a Non-Combatant Company recently found himself the only man in uniform in a crowded railway compartment. His travelling companions were munition workers who had enjoyed a festive evening together—perhaps a little too festive. At all events they proposed a whip-round "for the soldier who is fighting our battle" and raised ten shillings between them. They were in no mood for explanations and would not take no for an answer. So the NCC sent the 10s. to our Headquarters Fund with the remark ("in all humility") that "perhaps we are fighting their battles."

Let us so present our cause in word and life that these unintentional contributors to our Fund, if they should discover their mistake, would not regret their support. It is a big, full-time job to win respect from our fellow-men, demanding the utmost we can all give in every way.

MAUD ROWNTREE
CORDER CATCHPOOL
Joint Treasurers

Contributions to Headquarters Fund since Dec. 1: £29 16s. 9d. Total to date: £619. Donations to the Fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Leading women's appeal to Britain

CHRISTMAS EXTRAS WHILE EUROPE STARVES

THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF AN APPEAL WHICH WAS INITIATED BY VERA BRITAIN AND SENT THIS WEEK TO THE NATIONAL PRESS AND SYMPATHETIC ORGANIZATIONS. THE SIGNATORIES INCLUDE: MRS. MARGERY CORBETT-ASHBY (FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE LIBERAL PARTY), MRS. E. PETHICK LAWRENCE, DR. MAUDE ROYDEN, CLARE SHERIDAN, AND DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE.

SERIOUS concern is felt throughout the country at the increase in rations this Christmas. We have never been seriously short of food during the war, thanks to the foresight of the Ministry of Food and the bravery of the merchant seamen of many nations. But our friends in occupied and liberated Europe have had four long years of hunger, malnutrition and disease, and they are still getting very much less than ourselves.

"The amount of calories which the people of Britain receive is, I believe, 2,600 daily. The theoretical amount which the Belgian people get is 1,400 a day," according to the Belgian Premier in an interview published on Nov. 29. Inasmuch as our total blockade cut off a very large part of the normal food supply of these friendly civilians we cannot escape some share of direct responsibility for their present plight.

We are told by the Minister of Food that substantial stocks of food are set aside here and in America for civilian relief in Europe, and that these stocks are quite separate from the small additional rations. But was it fair of Col. Llewellyn not to tell us also that UNRRA considers stocks of meat, fats and sugar inadequate for the work they expect to have to do in Europe next year?

SUGGESTIONS

Many of us would like our extra Christmas meat, fat and sugar to go into those stocks. It would not be a lot; but human welfare is not only a matter of statistics. Every individual succoured is a victory for humanity.

Better still, we would like to send these extras to the hungry Europeans at once. If that cannot be done, or if that is not the best way of helping, at least we cannot accept extra for ourselves if no equivalent gesture is to be made to relieve some of the avoidable suffering in Europe this Christmas. We therefore look anxiously to the Government, begging them to make a clear statement before Christmas of what they will do to improve food supplies to Europe now.

The Government must know better than any of us what could be done. But we cannot be sure that they are doing all that is possible if their state of mind permits them to defend extra rations at home by arguing, as the Minister of Food has done in Parliament, that we "have been on as strict rationing as anyone." We suggest some practical possibilities:

Britain could agree that the Swedish foodships that served Greece so well should now aid Norway, under similar controls. We are glad to see that the Government has at last yielded to the demand for such relief to British citizens in the beleaguered Channel Islands. We could help Sweden to increase her aid to Finland, and perhaps even to war-torn Poland, with the help of the International Red Cross. We could encourage Sweden to relieve the famine-stricken cities of German-held Holland.

Britain could cut down our very substantial food imports from overseas, thus releasing not supplies only, but the all-important shipping to take foodstuffs to liberated Europe. Civilian supplies here could surely be maintained from the very large

civilian food reserves accumulated in this country against an emergency now virtually past.

Port-capacity and internal transport shortages are given as reasons why food supplies in Belgium and Holland cannot be increased. We believe that something better than four transport planes daily must be spared for the Dutch cities in liberated territory, and that some foodships must be allowed to a Belgian port (most of Belgium's food has to come from overseas in normal times) if anarchy is to be averted. In any case distribution in Greece, Italy and France could be extended.

A GESTURE

If the Government shows a real willingness to move in this direction we shall be satisfied. If they show no signs of rising to the height of opportunity—it is also the level of strict duty to civilians under our control—we shall renounce our additional Christmas rations and try to find some poor, sick or aged people in Britain to accept them. We wish we could send help to Europe, but if we cannot—the sick and hungry are of

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Greece pays the price of our policy

CONFUSION in Europe is becoming pandemonium. All one can do is to try to think straight. Let us begin with Greece, about which an unusual amount of claptrap is being talked.

First: the policy of the United Nations towards Greece. The American Press has constantly averred in plain terms that in the division of spheres of influence in the Balkans, Greece was allotted to Britain, the rest to Russia. That corresponded to Britain's traditional policy. USA was said to be critical of Churchill's desire to retain the Greek monarchy.

Second: the political condition of Greece. For at least two years the Greek guerrillas have been at loggerheads. In October, 1943, they began fighting one another. Col. Zervas of EDES was accused by ELAS (near-Communist) of having signed an armistice with the Germans to permit the distribution of food by the Red Cross in Epirus. No great crime, that. After great efforts by British liaison officers an uneasy truce was finally achieved and a coalition government formed.

Third: the economic condition of Greece. This has been and is pitiful. There was starvation in Athens; the currency became worthless; the never very efficient administrative machine was completely destroyed. Only where the organization of the International Red Cross existed has it been possible to distribute—outside Athens—the large supplies that have been sent to the Piraeus since "liberation."

No easy solution

WHETHER there is anything to choose between the rival guerrilla movements is hard to say. One certain thing is that the most powerful

MANY OTHER APPEALS

OTHER public appeals on the subject of Christmas rations have come from the RT. HON. MARGARET BONDFIELD—Women's Group on Public Welfare; HARRIETTE CHICK—Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine; and MRS. BARBARA DUNCAN-HARRIS—Women's International League.

ELEANOR RATHBONE, MP, has put Parliamentary questions and will continue to press the matter. The Friends' MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS has sent a resolution to the Government. Thousands of private correspondents have written to the Press and the Ministries.

So far the Government has shown no sign of heeding these appeals. Mr. Hall, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, denied "that British rations could be cut further." Col. Llewellyn, Minister of Food, continues to show misplaced satisfaction at our advantageous position, and at the beginning of this month Mr. Churchill promised more food in wider variety for 1945.

In sharp contrast come reports of food riots in Rome and the denial to Belgium of any immediate food imports from overseas.

FEWER C.O.s IN PRISON THIS CHRISTMAS

NEXT week the thoughts of many readers will turn to those men and women who will be in prison at Christmas on account of their conscientious objection to war.

Owing to the recent relaxations in fire-watching, part-time civil defence, and Home Guard, as well as to the general man-power position there will be many fewer conscientious objectors in prison this Christmas—probably just under a hundred instead of the 225 of last year and 350 of 1942.

Only one conscientious objector is likely to be found in military detention.

Observer's Commentary

of them has Communist affiliations. But it naturally is easy for any revolutionary body to claim to be Communist in Europe today.

The real problem is to establish any kind of just and effective government in Greece. To contend that Britain must hold the ring while the disputants fight it out is outrageous. The inevitable consequence will be that more and more innocent Greeks will starve. Greece is entirely dependent upon imported food. You cannot distribute food where there is civil war and anarchy.

Russia is at hand with her solution—which is not democracy, but strong government. The Red Army stands no nonsense, wherever it goes. If that is what the Americans and the democratic Left in Britain really want for Greece—let them say so, but not pretend it is democracy. But, of course, they want nothing of the kind. They live in a sentimental dream world, wherein democracy is possible everywhere, at all times. This fantasy increases the sum of human misery.

Government in Greece

REPUBLICAN democracy has never yet succeeded in Greece. Britain imposed monarchy on Greece in 1863, in the shape of a Danish prince, as the only means of ending the incessant struggle between rival military factions. Again in recent years republican democracy came to a dead end after Venizelos. It would not work. The number of parties was fantastic: somewhere about 100.

The fact is that the Greek peasant is a simple, hospitable, superstitious person who, under centuries of

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Next week

Peace News will be published
A DAY EARLIER THAN
USUAL

Supplies will be dispatched to
distributors on Wednesday.

Latest time for advertisements,
next two issues—see page 5.

PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Stamford Hill 2262

All correspondence on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

"... these only"

SAID Max Plowman in one of his letters, now published in a volume of inexhaustible riches:

"Be Christian, if possible; but also dodge being called one, if possible, just because it isn't a reproach, but a category; it's these damned categories the whole Creation waits to be delivered from. . . Of course, I know that we are struggling for the re-birth of Christianity. It's for this very reason I say: For God's sake, let us not try to put new wine into old bottles. This that has to be reborn will show its nature surely enough when it is reborn. Don't go baptizing it before it's born."

There is no doubt about it: the content of the word Christian has become far too elastic and dubious for anyone to achieve clarity by adopting or applying it. The label Christian tells us nothing about a man on which we can rely. It does not assure us that he is tolerant or forgiving, or that he is loth to judge. It tells us nothing about the man himself, or the kind of answers he will give by his actions to the questions life sets us all. That is the reason why the category Christian is no longer part of the living language of men. It serves to make no vital distinction.

★

Christmas has more definite meaning than Christian in the world today. The Christmas spirit is a much more distinctive thing than the Christian spirit. Most grown men and women, and all children, feel strongly that there is, or ought to be, something different about Christmas. Men and women ought to behave differently and better. And for the most part they do—especially towards children. Sometimes the thing goes so far that, even in the worst extremity of war, there is a spontaneous and voluntary truce. Let us hope that it springs up, to be a witness to the suppressed humanity of man, this Christmas.

The deity who presides over this Christmas spirit is, we suppose, Father Christmas. He is much the most real and personal God who exists, at any rate in the North European world today. He is real and personal because the children are determined to keep him so. Whether he does, or does not, veritably come down the chimney, is a question of the utmost urgency in child-theology.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

Designs by T. B. Pitfield and Maurice Rowntree
Specimen packet of five cards
1s. 7d. post free

P P U BOOKSHOP
6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.
Pacifist Quotation Calendar
9d. post free 10d.

The Bookshop sells and exchanges
BOOK TOKENS

(6d.; by post 7d.)

C.O. & the Future

All about demobilisation, jobs, reinstatement, etc. Now in its third edition.

C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1

Three new FREEDOM PRESS publications now on sale

Herbert Read
THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN
82 pages 1s. (post 2d.)

George Woodcock
HOMES OR HOVELS
32 pages 6d. (post 1d.)

M. L. Berneri
WORKERS IN STALIN'S RUSSIA
88 pages 1s. (post 3d.)

FREEDOM PRESS (N),
27 Belsize Rd., London, N.W.6

And, for most of us, it is only through that urgency that we can gain a glimpse of men's minds in the far-off days when theology was real.

If Christ were as real—one half as real—to grown-ups as Father Christmas is to children, what an extraordinarily different world it would be!

Meanwhile, the grown-ups have their God: to whom they give implicit obedience but no faith. He is the Nation-State. In the main he is the reflection and projection of themselves: a bewildering mixture of bad and good. So much like themselves, indeed, that he arouses no enthusiasm; and they obey him without love in a kind of somnambulism. One day, they say to themselves—without any great conviction—he will turn into a Father Christmas, with jobs, nutrition, education, health-service, and social insurance for all. Rather a strange metamorphosis—seeing that the Nation-State at the present time looks very like a stream-lined Moloch. No wonder no one seems very sanguine about the change.

What man needs to give him strength to pull himself out of the dreary automatism of death is a new vision of God—of a God that is a God—as high above the State as man himself is now below it. Till that comes there will be no freedom any more: and where that comes there is always freedom. Let Max Plowman speak again:

"Seeing God is seeing with the eyes of love the essential nature of anything or anybody. We don't really see it or them till we see the indescribable (and the indescribably lovely) as the essential nature, the very core of them. Then we know that that is God and they are the means of God to us and what we worship is not them in their discreteness but God in essence—God manifest in the flesh—God recognized. And only as we see persons and things in their eternality—in their essential being—do we see them truly and when we do, joy is spontaneous, a joy which none and nothing can take away. These human beings are one, and these only."

LETTERS

Beliefs versus facts

The late Sir Arthur Eddington believed that pacifist policy must wait upon democratic acceptance; Wilfred Wellock believes that pacifists should, now, engage in the creative revolution which is "the only hope" of a good society; socialists believe no advance can be made, universally speaking, under capitalism; anarchists believe in individual freedom to the point of a lawless world; organized Christians uphold and obey national law and order everywhere; Adolf Hitler believes in the eternal supremacy of the Germanic "master race"; Winston Churchill believes that that role was fore-ordained for Anglo-Saxons and Britons generally; Franklin Roosevelt believes in Churchill politically and in cosmic freedom of enterprise for American big business economically; Communists believe Russia is everything that is pure, gentle, sweet and strong (and they'll shoot your damned head off if you doubt it, just to prove it!); Gandhi believes that non-resistance will ultimately secure Indian independence; your leader-writer on Dec. 1 believed that a thin line was enough to mark off an idealist who could kill and be killed quite sincerely in an utterly uninformed faith; and so on and so on.

Meanwhile ol' Brer Stalin he lies low an' says nuffin'. You don't catch him trying to make the facts fit his ideas. He knows that might, armed national might, will draw the political lines of the new world. And he's on the job for Russia.

For pacifists the lesson seems to me to be plain. Disarm the nations and the age of wars is past. "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight" should read "Wars will cease when all men are disarmed." How to do it? By a continuance of something which has always been in progress since the world began, but only spasmodically. That is, by voluntary political federation, which could be common work for all. Difficult? Sure; but what is there that's easier? Slow? Agreed; but what is there that's quicker? Hopeless? Maybe; but if it is, you'd better start teaching your children and grandchildren the rudiments of tribunal procedure. Or, better still, don't have children or grandchildren!

B. W. SIDWELL
114 Regent St., Nelson, Lancs.

Pacifism and atrocities

May I suggest that the publication in Peace News of "Reflections of a pacifist prisoner of war" serves no good purpose and does a harm for which one does not look in a pacifist paper? There is surely quite enough atrocity-mongering and whipping up of "Hun-hate" in the popular Press. This is not to suggest that the writer did not witness the things he says he witnessed, nor that the "sheer deliberate brutality" to which you refer in your editorial is not a fact; what I do suggest is that such sadism and brutality is not exclusively German, nor even exclusively confined to major wars.

CONSCRIPTION AND DEMOCRACY

by Howard Whitten

THE problem of what the Americans aptly call "re-conversion" faces the pacifist as well as the serviceman. For the pacifist movement has been on the defensive—on its own war-footing, so to speak—through the war years. There will be a great temptation to carry over into peace-time more of the behaviour-pattern of these somewhat distorted years than is healthy for a dynamic movement.

When the war-resister no longer has a war to resist, what, in Heaven's name, shall he resist? Doubtless the best pacifist emphasis will be on the "creative" rather than the "resistant." But in this wicked world even the most "constructive" pacifist has to be largely a war-resister. Some would answer the above question without hesitation: "Conscription—industrial and military."

This is not the place to consider industrial conscription, partly because it raises the whole range of influences and inducements. That is a crucial subject, deserving of more attention from peacemakers than it has so far received, but it is not governed by any readily acceptable basic principle, nor will our intuitions help us much in the equitable allocation of labour resources. But although we shall not easily agree on the "direction" of, say, skilled building-workers into their own trades when there is a housing shortage, still we may find a close unity when those same workers are "directed" to the destruction of their fellow-workers.

"Citizen army"

Industrial conscription—the name is a little too facile—in any form or scope comparable to compulsory military service seems to me a very unlikely outcome of the post-war set-

up. Military conscription, by contrast, looks only too likely. What do we say to that threat?

I am one of those who hope that pacifists will use all their influence against it. But I fervently hope that they will not do so for the worst reasons, nor for ignorance of the opposing view. The social-democratic arguments for a "citizen army"—if there is to be an army at all—are substantial. The principle of "equality of sacrifice" is valid in its own field. Those who deeply believe in peace should not encourage the illusion that it can be had on the cheap.

If any settlement is such that great armies are needed to maintain it, then there is a great deal to be said for having armies drawn from the society as a whole and not from a particular class or temperament. Certainly there is a deep reluctance to peacetime conscription in Britain, but much of it is symptomatic of inertia and irresponsibility. Who would say that the exercise of British sea-power has been the less compromising (from the pacifist viewpoint) for resting on an essentially professional navy—to which the plain man gave no personal service, although he went along with the policy and shared in the loot? It is arguable that if we can keep all our citizens in the same boat the sooner will they make it seaworthy.

The case against

Why, then, oppose conscription? First, as a duty to the freedom of the inexperienced, the protection of the immature. It is of prime importance to defend the young and unsettled mind from the deeply immoral coercion of the military tradition. Training to kill would easily become "the done thing," especially while veiled in its mechanical glamour.

Second, as good democrats: conscription would be an important conditioning element in society. It trains its victims in a habit of obedience and Governments in a habit of armed-assurance. Both habits militate against that unpredictable, creative unorthodoxy which is the life-blood of the democratic idea. Our society badly needs flexibility; conscription would mould it not plastically but rigidly.

In critical days when peace and war lie in the balance, only the militarist can rejoice that behind the Government stands a mass of trained warriors. If we are ever to abolish armies, a convention of compulsory military training must not become firmly established. This is a vantage ground of Britain's democracy—and one which we ought not to yield lightly.

The peaceful intention and example of any society is equivocal as long as its young men are automatically trained for war. Conscience clauses, important as they are, do not affect the main dangers.

If it comes

It would be unscrupulous, of course, to cash in on war-weariness to support any agitation against conscription by those who wanted the goods which conscription can buy but boggle at the price. Indeed, the pacifist will need to be particularly careful in throwing his weight about in the political arena after the war. He will need to insist that conscription must be seen *whole*—in relation to its purpose, and although he may guide and educate the more self-interested resistance to conscription he must not, on peril of his own integrity, incite or foment it.

The battle against conscription may well be lost. Yet it is possible that we pacifists, together with the genuine liberals, the Liddell Harts, may prevent its being grafted deeply into the texture of society. There is no simple criterion of our efforts on the short view.

But an honest advocacy of the honest arguments against conscription may modify very considerably the climate, so to speak, in which military service will exist in the crucial post-war years. That would be good pacifism—and good politics.

Recent "glass-house" exposures in this country have not made pretty reading; nor does the history of any colonial regime. All that those "reflections" prove is that war is an ugly business, affording ample outlet for the sadism in human nature . . . which most of us knew before.

When the writer of those "reflections" refers to our "reasonable Government that allows you to hold and express your own views" he seems to have forgotten the existence of a regulation called 18b, and the fact that periodically pacifist and anarchist open-air speakers are "run-in" for expressing their own views a little too clearly. He should know that "free speech" is tolerated in this country only up to a point—the harmless, ineffective point.

As to the "stream of abuse" from the young Nazis in reply to remarks on their ideology, one can only say that the speaker "asked for it." Incidentally I also have discussed their ideas with Nazis—Austrian and German—and my experience differs, in that not once did they ever use such expressions as "The Führer says" . . . I know that this is the conventional idea of a Nazi; I can only say it was not my experience.

Having given so much space to those "reflections" I hope you will allow me these few remarks—which, I suggest, serve the pacifist cause rather better.

ETHEL MANNIN

Oak Cottage, Burghley Rd., London, S.W.19.

This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.

Out of place

It is surely a regrettable un-necessity that work even for peaceable and charitable ends should be perverted by and for war-propaganda?

At Dick Sheppard House recently I came across a pamphlet outlining the wholly admirable project of the YPOC for giving hospitality in England to children from the occupied countries—whose "most bitter sacrifice of all, and one that will leave its mark for many years to come, is the under-nourishment of their younger generation." Was it necessary for the writer to add that this under-nourishment was "the result of the plunder of all available food by Hitler and his satellites"—and make no mention whatever of our blockade?

So far as I know there is one, and only one, occupied country whose starvation has been due entirely to the operations of the occupying Power, and that is India—with whose children, however, the Reception Committee has apparently no concern.

It makes little difference to a child whether it is received and fed in the name of war or peace—and I sincerely hope that pacifists will co-operate in this scheme—but it would make a great difference to us were such an appeal launched, and responded to, in the name of repentance and atonement for an evil which we have committed, and which our cant does nothing to excuse.

F. A. LEA

11 Oakhill Park, N.W.8.

The Christmas message — of confidence

FOR five years now I, like other pacifists, have been compelled to practise the asceticism of saying No to my fellows in the community without the nourishment of being able to put a Yes in its place. The days in which we were campaigning with high hopes for a world in which non-violence would become a policy as well as an ideal seem very remote, and who of us has not been disappointed again and again at the impotence which has infected every positive thing that we have tried to do in war-time?

I remember hearing A. A. Milne say at a conference in 1937, called by Dick Sheppard in the Crypt at St. Martin's, "Everything depends on what we do now. If a war comes we are finished." War did mean the end of his pacifism at least for a time, and we have learnt during its tragic course, as we did not know then, how profoundly pacifism as a movement would be stultified in a world of arms, even though it could not shake our ultimate beliefs.

All honour to those who have worked and planned together in these days of violence and are still doing so. But let us learn the lesson from the events through which we have passed. The renunciation of war and the refusal to take part in it was not enough—even as a beginning it was not enough. Its lack of realism was not thrust inescapably upon us until we were engulfed in the totalitarian prosecution of that which we individually had announced. All of us have more or less mistaken the appalling symptom of a world disease for the disease itself. We wanted to be doctors and at best have managed to get into a first-aid post.

The new beginning

These thoughts press in upon me as I sit preparing a Carol Service for Christmas 1944. "God rest you merry, Gentlemen," "Glory to God in the Highest, Peace on earth, good will towards men." Christmas is always an assurance of the new beginning. How soon or how late the armistice comes. I am sure that there is another chance awaiting us



by
Dr. Donald O. Soper

of building and establishing the world of peace. I want to suggest two things that occur to me in the light of what I have just been saying.



FIRST—pacifism can only be a point, even if a focal point, in a compass which looks in every direction. There is a false simplicity in the idea that we can concentrate upon the renunciation of war without at the same time concentrating on the abolition of capitalism and nationalism and power-politics. It will be inherently easier to attack them all together than to attack each separately.

In one respect the stage is already favourably set as a result of our present turmoil. As a wit has said, "The world is in the melting-pot and the pot is melting the world." The foundations of the pre-war world have been, or are being, destroyed and I am inclined to think that more and more people are coming to realize, though dimly, that this is so.

We may have a new world, what we cannot do is to patch up the old. Non-violence must go hand-in-hand

with economic security for all, a common government to secure the welfare of all, and a comprehensive justice that can be indifferently administered in the interests of all. Within this setting pacifism alone is intelligible and will appear practicable. Disregard this setting and it will remain a dangerous hobby in the eyes of the world, indulged in only by people who refuse to keep their feet on the ground.

The second thing is this. Pacifism can only become a strategy if it is first a philosophy, or better still, a religion. The only answer to the question "Will it work?" is to be able to say "It must because it is in the nature of things that it should."

Strongest argument

The utilitarian arguments for non-violence break down under the overwhelming pressure of brute fact. Any of you who have testified to your pacifism in public places during the last five years will bear testimony to the truth that a man needs more than an immediate argument to convince him that he ought to risk everything—including military defeat—rather than engage in the terrible business of killing.

I would not disguise the fact that many of the arguments that we used to proclaim, the senselessness, the cruelty, the wastefulness, the indecisiveness of modern war, have for me lost most of their coerciveness in this nightmare of corporate evil. I am alone sustained by the Christian faith which assures me that what is morally right carries with it the ultimate resources of the universe and that though our minds falter at the prospect, the Cross of Christ is the instrument of our salvation.

My hope for a world of peace is in that divine and universal act which we call the Incarnation and because we can celebrate it once again in the old year of war we may look forward with confidence to a New Year of peace.

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 103

If the nations could derive wisdom from past experience, and from the judgment which is formed of many former wars, now that the passions which excited them are subsided, much might be urged in favour of a pacific system. It will be admitted that we have frequently engaged in war for trivial or unattainable objects—that the objects have generally not been attained—that, under pretence of guarding against distant and improbable dangers, we have incurred present and imminent ones—that passion and national pride, rather than rational views of national interest, have been often the ruling principles of our public conduct—that, as we have engaged in war rashly, we have persevered in it with obstinacy, and rejected offers of pacification more favourable than those which we were afterwards under the necessity of accepting.

The view we entertain of any present war is seen through a different medium. Everything valuable to us as men, and as a nation, is supposed to be at stake—our national prosperity, our national honour, our national existence—our liberties and lives. No exertion can be too great. The power of our enemy is so formidable, and his ambition so insatiable, that we have no alternative but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, till we lay him prostrate at our feet. No pressure of increasing burthens is to be regarded: no dread of exhausting our resources entertained. If he make repeated overtures of pacification they are to be considered as insidious, and rejected with scorn.

—Prof. Robert Hamilton, of Aberdeen, in his standard work on National Debt, published after the Napoleonic war, in 1817.



(Compare Lord Keynes, in House of Lords, May 28, 1944: "We wage war without counting the cost... We have sacrificed every precaution for the future in the interest of immediate strength with a fanatical single-mindedness which has few parallels, the full price of which has still to be paid")

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES
Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d.
Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS
Maximum size, 3 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

"A NEW WORLD ORDER"

by Rev. H. J. Dale

Price 1s. (by post 1s. 2d.)

Foreword by Dr. A. D. Belden

"These seven spirited addresses are refreshing reading. Mr. Dale has the gift of writing for the ordinary man in simple and dignified language. There is not much here, perhaps, which has not been said already, but it is worth saying again for it is said well. Dr. Belden, in a foreword, specially commends 'The Sins of the Fathers', but all the chapters are good and the constructive aspect of pacifism is emphasised."—The Christian Pacifist.

THE STRICKLAND PRESS,
GLASGOW, C.I.

Copies can be obtained from the Author, Quainton, Aylesbury, Bucks, or the P.P.U.

BRIDGE INTO THE FUTURE

Max Plowman's Letters

An anonymous friend has offered to make several hundred copies of the ordinary edition available at half price (12s. 6d.) for PPU members. This special price will be given only by the PPU Bookshop, to genuine PPU members, and only one copy can be allowed to each member.

Because of the limited supply, members requiring a copy are advised to write at once giving a firm order which should be confirmed with cash as soon as publication is announced. Copies will be posted as soon as possible if 8d. for postage and packing is sent, or can be reserved to be called for. But a written order must be given in every case and no copies at the special price can be sold across the counter otherwise.

Should orders exceed the number available for this special scheme notice will be given in Peace News.

To reduce postal costs, group secretaries may arrange for copies to be sent in one parcel to them. Separate personal orders must, however, be made by each member requiring a copy, though it will help the Bookshop if all are posted to it in one envelope.

NEW POLICY TOWARDS CANADIAN C.O.s

Toronto.—Partly because of the man-power shortage in Canada, the Government now feels it inadvisable to segregate COs in camps when they could be doing more useful work.

Under the authority of the Alternative Service System of the Department of Labour, recognized COs are selected for jobs which they are most competent to perform. Although full authority for the assignment of men rests solely with the Alternative Service Officer, some consideration is given to a man's preference.—Worldover Press.

It's an old Chinese custom

From the Saturday Evening Post (Overseas Edition for Sept., 1944):

ALTHOUGH loud and violent quarrels are frequent among the common people of China, the participants rarely come to blows, and settlement of the dispute is usually effected by the crowd which invariably gathers. Not that the Chinese are cowards; the custom is rather the sign of the

sensible, adult philosophy of an ancient and mellow race. The nearest thing to a real fight that I saw in more than a year's travel through interior China was at Suchow, in the far north-west.

I was walking through the city with my No. 1 boy when we came upon a score of people grouped tightly around two quarrelling men. Obviously very angry, they were calling each other all the vile names they could think of. Tears of fury flowed down their cheeks and as we watched, one, stung beyond endurance, shoved the other roughly with his shoulder.

The second man shoved back, and words were abandoned as first one and then the other rammed a shoulder at his opponent. Finally a violent shove by one caught the other unprepared, and he sat down kerplunk in the dusty street.

I could contain myself no longer.



I burst out laughing. Instantly every eye was turned on me.

My boy looked astonished, and asked, "Why are you laughing, master?"

"I'm laughing," I said, "at the way those men fight."

"Don't you fight that way in America?"

"No."

"Then how do you fight in America?"

For answer, I doubled up my fist and punched him lightly on the jaw. He drew back with an expression of horror and exclaimed, "Oh, but that would hurt!"

J. MARVIN WELLER

WHERE AMERICAN PACIFISTS STAND NOW

The following is taken from a letter just received from Harry Emerson Fosdick, well known in America as one of the Ministers of The Riverside Church, New York, by Patrick Figgis, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union:

I AM just the same kind of pacifist and just as much of a pacifist as I have been for many years, seeing no reason in the lurid light of this tragic war to change my convictions and many reasons to sustain them.

I take it for granted that in Britain, as in the United States, members of the pacifist group do not hold

unanimous opinions. Among us, pacifists have divergent judgments, not only with regard to practical strategy in wartime, but with regard to the basic philosophy and essential meaning of pacifism.

From some forms of pacifism that seem to me negative, individualistic, anarchic, I am alien. I am, I suspect, best described as a Quaker. For many years—indeed from its foundation—I have been a member of the Wider Quaker Fellowship, including many who are not formally associated with the Society of Friends, but who hold the basic convictions on war and peace for which the Society has stood. In the positive, constructive, socially-minded pacifism of the Quakers I find myself at home.

THE SPEARHEAD

I do not think that the peace of the world depends alone on the success of the pacifist movement as such; if it did it would indeed be hard-pressed, for pacifists are bound to be a minority. But I do think, as one of our prominent American non-pacifists put it, that pacifists are "the spearhead of the peace movement," presenting in most uncompromising form the irreconcilable contradictions between the principles of Christ and the barbarity of war.

Even when I most disagree with the special judgment of pacifist friends and think them wrong-headed, I am sure that, as was said of our extreme and sometimes unwise exponents of abolition in slavery days, they are "wrong-headed in the right direction."

This war, I judge, will now be fought out to its military conclusion. We Christians in America—all pacifists, of course, and many non-pacifists as well—are facing the military victory with very humble, rather than exultant hearts; knowing well that military victory is the most transient phenomenon in history, and that only the non-violent forces of intelligent goodwill can possibly create and sustain a lasting peace. God grant that we may not fail this time!

REAL EVENTS

by Patrick Figgis

WHETHER we accept or reject the Christian Faith, most of us will probably agree that the birth of Jesus Christ was an outstanding historical event. It is with good reason that history is dated BC and AD. His birth in some real sense marks a turning-point in human history. Although man's behaviour has not been as different as it should have been since He was born, our ideas about God and man have inevitably been different; and it is such ideas, together with our desire and ability to live by them, that help to determine the course of history.

The New Testament story, however (and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy on this point), makes it plain that His birth went quite unnoticed. Admittedly it is recorded that the shepherds and wise men knew what was taking place. But generally there was complete ignorance about it: there was not even any room for Him in the inn: people were occupied with quite different affairs.

So too, all through His boyhood, apart from one suggestion that His father and mother knew that He was different from the rest of their family, no one appears to have noticed that there was anything special about Him. Indeed, although our records here are admittedly scanty, until He was 30 years of age it seems to have dawned on no one that He was a person of peculiar significance, or that in Himself He constituted a fact of outstanding importance for the human race.

★

INSTEAD, the people and events that were considered important were of a quite different kind.

"And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed."

"This taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria."

"And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city."

"Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene,"

"Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests . . ."

That is to say—Imperial rulers, ecclesiastics and national registration—these were the people and events which at the time were considered great.

In a sense of course there is nothing remarkable in that. It generally is so. The most precocious child is seldom recognized aright for what he will be or do. Nor is the introduction into human thought of any great idea usually recognized at once to be as important as it really is. What makes this failure of recognition in the case of Jesus so remarkable is partly the fact that it continued for so long—apart from a small group of His followers and their converts, it continued in the main for several hundred years; partly too the fact that He has made such an immense contribution to the religious thought of the world. At first sight, at any rate, it is strange that His greatness went unrecognized.

★

I SUGGEST that this fact should help us to distinguish between the important and the unimportant events. The rise to power of dictators, battles, treaties—we easily come to think that such are the important happenings; and in one sense for those immediately close to them they certainly are important. But the fact that the people of Jesus' day were quite mistaken in their judgment as to the relative importance of events is surely suggestive.

Hitler and Churchill, concentration camps and conscription, will be remembered for many years

What the P.P.U. stands for

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the PPU: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the Peace Pledge Union, write for information to: The General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

If you decide that you cannot support this or any other war, it will encourage others and may be helpful to yourself if you join the Union.

The Union stands for the rejection of war, for the method of seeking to overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.



by Arthur Wragg

P.P.U. COLUMN

Non-violence and the Nazis

"WHAT would you do if a German soldier attacked your mother?" To the stock question the pacifist usually replies with an equally stock snigger or smart answer about laying the odds on the mother. But is this good enough, and is the question really so irrelevant as, lacking a convincing reply, we often suggest? The hypothetical situation may bear no comparison with a modern war, but on a personal level it has a challenge from which there should be no attempted escape.

"But supposing you lived in an occupied country?"

"Look at Gandhi . . . Non-violence . . ."

Easily said: too easily, perhaps, to be valuable. How much have we looked at Gandhi, or, having looked, assimilated? Are we for ever to denounce the violence by which others seek to maintain the comparative freedom and safety in which we live, or have we an alternative for the resolving of conflict? It is not sufficient to claim that the Faith called Pacifism will ensure a personal immunity from the doctrines of Nazism. Communism, intense nationalism even, have proved as effective. We must be able to offer to society a method as effective on the national level as for the individual. Without this contribution our existence in total war is parasitical. Is it certain that the personal and corporate non-violence of Gandhi has significance in the European scene?

First-hand evidence

An article in *The Friend* of Oct. 27 may supply a part of the answer. In it Myrtle Wright, recently returned from a four-year stay in occupied Norway, writes: "It has been a wonderful experience to live these four years in occupied Norway and to watch the active non-violent struggle against the Nazi idea and practice which the country has maintained throughout every department of its life, and this without practically any physical violence."

After a remarkable account of what amounts to nearly nation-wide non-co-operation, boycott and peaceful protest, Myrtle Wright gives us a salutary reminder of the evil and bestialities of Nazism and concludes, "we must recognize evil where there is evil. At the same time I am convinced there is a Christian way which we must continually seek."

In Norway, as elsewhere, there has been violence also, in the shape of sabotage. But, like the Danes, the Norwegians are strongly disposed towards non-violence and it is no accident that Norwegian war-resisters have lost their lives in bloodless opposition to the invaders.

To examine non-violence in order to seek a possible pacifist way has been one of the purposes of the PPU Non-Violence Committee. Consequently it has inaugurated and encouraged research on several non-military struggles, particularly those which, by their historical and geographical background, might be more relevant than the resistance of the satyagrahis against the British Raj in India. A little of the result of this work will, it is hoped, soon be published.

In "Non-Violence and Germany" Maurice Cranston has selected three instances in recent German history which demonstrate the possibilities of peaceful direct action in contemporary European society. The pamphlet will recount the stories of Germans resisting a reactionary political armed group which had seized power, and defeating foreign aggression without violence. It will also show that non-violence has been successful on a national scale against the Nazis.

The pamphlet should do much to dispel the doubts of pacifists and non-pacifists alike that "it wouldn't work here." It is not a complete answer to such doubts. But it is part of the answer; a large enough part to encourage pacifists to continue their efforts to work out a non-violent alternative to war.

BERNARD TAYLOR

to come. Yet I have little doubt that friendships now being formed by prisoners in the different countries, the magnificent way in which some European civilians have returned good for evil when about to be killed by the Japanese, the faithful adherence to principle on various issues in both East and West, the birth of some baby into a truly religious and revolutionary home—these represent, I suggest, the real events of our times, which later will be recognized as such.

★

THIS view of things should surely encourage us in our daily work for peace. In a volume of sermons by the author of our Peace Pledge, Dr. H. E. Fosdick of New York, one title reads like this: "When great events make common tasks look trivial." On that occasion the preacher surely was thinking of a basic human need, and trying to counter a very real temptation.

What is the use of distributing Peace News each week, attending small meetings, getting signatures for a petition, or trying to teach children to understand and love their enemies, when at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks the future of the world is settled for the next 50 years? Well, if there are no other events to be reckoned with, there is undoubtedly little value in such activities.

But what if the real events are not these happenings at all? Christmas should encourage us as pacifists not to be weary in simple well doing.

★

WHICH suggests that for those who wish to make it so, Christmas even this year can be really eventful.

Not as we would wish it to be—an agreed halt to hostilities, the admission of guilt by both sides for helping to bring about the war, and the expressed desire by all concerned to make amends for the evil that has been done—an eventful Christmas will not in that sense take place. But Christmas can nevertheless be made eventful by the sincere desire on the part of any of us to learn to love as Christ loved; and by our telling those from whom we have become estranged that we wish to forgive and be forgiven.

"Love is the greatest thing in the world. I want to live for Him who is love." In such words a well-known friend of the PPU wrote to me recently after a sad and lonely if triumphant experience. The possible consequences for good if we follow such an example are incalculable. Such are the real events that can determine history.

'DAMNABLE LUNACY'

"WHERE has the mental pilgrimage of nearly thirty years led me? How do I think of the Germans now?

"The fundamental answer to that question is this: I know with far more certainty than I know that the earth is round, or planets go round the sun, that there are good Germans. I have, of course, met them, enjoyed their friendship, entrusted my confidence to them . . . lucky ones, of course, who escaped in time as refugees to this country."

"But even if I had never spoken a word to a solitary German, I would still say with complete and blazing conviction, that there are good Germans. Human beings are not divided up into good races and bad races. However you visualize the Creator—as an all-wise, all-powerful personal spirit, or as a purely impersonal force—the idea of His creating good races and bad races simply does not make sense."

"It is the kind of damnable lunacy that animates the Nazi mind and leads at last to the murder camps of Lublin."

—C.M.W. in *Woman's Outlook*, Nov. 18,

COMMUNITY

There is no more convinced, or more persuasive apostle of Christian community than the Rev. Charles C. Stimson, whose Brotherhood of the Way migrated about a year ago from Wymondley, Herts., to the Abbey Farm, Hoxne, Diss, Norfolk, whence "Repair my House" (6d.) is published. The pamphlet describes itself as "a plea for a return to the ethical viewpoint of the Sermon on the Mount." The plea is developed with a fine clarity of statement.

For Mr. Stimson—and it is very difficult for the Christian to gainsay him—the true Church must be based on an actual acceptance of Christ's ethical teaching; and this leads, as inevitably as it did in the early Church, to "community as the normal pattern of the social life and witness of the Church."

"But let us not take too narrow a view of the community proposal. Especially let us not limit the idea to one of groups living under one roof. It is the bringing over on to new ground, on to holy ground, the ground of faith as grace within the saved society of the Church—of our everyday life and its relationships, our work and our property, which is the important thing; since it is by this that we are enabled to conform our ways to Christian ethics." J.M.M.

LEFT AND RIGHT

Brendan and Beverley. By Michael Foot. Gollancz. 2s. 6d.

It would be a pity if pacifists ignored the Gollancz pamphleteers, either for reasons of doctrine or gentility. Certainly they are an uneven bunch, but Mr. Foot's satire has a quality which survives even the vehemence of his rhetoric. Soon we may know how accurate is his forecast of the Tory line of defence; in the meantime, his attack on the record of the Right is also an attack on apathy in politics. At the latter level it has great value: its simple "snow and soot" picture may start thinking on their own account some who have given up the political scene as "six of one and half a dozen of the other."

Such people will find that wisdom after the event is more easily attained than at the operative time. There is more ambiguity on the Left between 1935 and 1939 than Mr. Foot will allow; similarly, not all the motives of the Right were base. But, in all, the intrusion of partisan controversy into the hot-house atmosphere of "National Unity" is a sign of health.

How to lead people from the second phase of political innocence, where the pamphlet leaves them, into the adult realm of individual judgment—that remains our problem.

The final pages of this extravaganza have something more to commend them: having de-bunked the presence and perspicacity of his political opponents (and written a masterly

election speech for their leader) he appends "the other speech that could win." This is a declaration of socialist faith, socialism of evangelical, passionate fervour, acceptance of which would go a great way to render feasible that moral revolution which pacifists urge.

H.W.

NON-VIOLENCE

Introduction to Non-Violence. Theodore Paullin. Pacifist Research Bureau, Philadelphia. 25 cents.

The Pennsylvania Pacifist Research Bureau consists of twenty-five well-known pacifists, including Emerson Fossdick, Haynes Holmes, A. J. Muste, Clarence Pickett and Richard Gregg who, with two professors of sociology, has been concerned in revising the present pamphlet. It is the Bureau's eighth publication, the first of a new series on "Non-Violent Action in Tension Areas."

Interest in its subject is evidently growing. Muste has written a book on it from the Christian standpoint. Jessie Wallace Hughan of the War Resisters League in New York has produced a widely-discussed pamphlet on pacifism and invasion. A revised edition of Gregg's "Power of Non-Violence" is promised for this year. The American F.O.R. has "a committee on non-violent direct action." While down in Latin America they even seem to be practising non-violence, so that dictators are going down like ninepins.

The purpose of Dr. Paullin's study is "to analyze the positions of both friends and opponents of non-violent direct action within the pacifist movement." It is "not so much concerned with the religious and ethical bases of these techniques as it is with a consideration of their application in practice and their effectiveness." Within these limitations the author deals with (1) violence without hatred, (2) non-violence by necessity, (3) non-violent coercion, (4) Satyagraha and non-violent direct action, (5) non-resistance, and (6) active goodwill and reconciliation. The pamphlet is carefully and thoughtfully done, well-informed, and in its own way useful. But it serves to raise very large questions. How far are the conclusions of a sociological study which deals only formally with "religious and ethical bases" valid?

No doubt it is possible to describe a performance of a Beethoven symphony in terms of physics alone, if you are "not so much concerned" with it as a piece of music. But the results must not be mistaken for musical criticism. Similarly Dr. Paullin's methods tend to an emphasis on quantity rather than quality. Thoreau is relegated to a footnote as an individualist. Gandhi's direct action is virtually separated from his social service and constructive programme, the success of a direct-action campaign is found to depend largely on "sufficient numbers" taking part.

Each reader must re-assess these conclusions, valid in themselves, in the light of his own religious and ethical conceptions. Such a re-examination will reveal the puzzling and hopeful fact that Socrates, Jesus and Gandhi are all in their several ways too large for the patterns which the modern sociological sciences devise.

ROY WALKER

THE MERCY OF MEN

We are flanked about with steel
Though we handle none:
We are bound upon the wheel
Though we break no bone.

We share the spoils of all lands
Though we shun their feud:
A stain is upon our hands
Though we shed no blood.

The death which darkens the air
Is breathed by our breast:
The torment which flesh must bear
Is our wounded trust.

This only our sanction and stay,
From men and for men,
The mercy of them who slay
And of them who are slain.

—from "The Expectant Silence,"
William Soutar.

News of the P.P.U. Areas

A new Area has been formed to cover Northamptonshire, Bedford and Hunts., of which Arthur Bayntun, 9 Bedford St., Woburn, is acting as temporary secretary.

East Anglia Area Council have approved a plan for its secretary, Frank Sayer, to do two months' full-time work contacting individuals and groups and stimulating activity.

NW Area (Lancashire and Cheshire) are to share the services of Will Green as from January 1. Until then, Will Green will continue his full-time work in Yorkshire.

Plans for development on lines which a full-time officer would have been following are to be considered by East Midlands Area at its AGM in the New Year.

CECIL E. CATFORD

The death of Cecil E. Catford, reported in last week's PN, is a sad loss to the pacifist movement.

He was treasurer of the Hornsey Advisory Bureau for COs, and although he had been ill for some time he refused to slacken in his efforts to help objectors in difficulty. It was a familiar sight to see him in all weathers on his way to visit some perplexed CO or to attend some committee or meeting.

He had been interested in and associated with the cause of peace from a very early age, as his father, Henry Catford, was assistant secretary to the first peace society formed in this country. He was also well known as a keen lone rambler, and a great lover of children and animals. The many people with whom he came in contact and helped will always remember him for quiet, sympathetic helpfulness and utter selflessness. It was an honour to have known him.

R.W.

Anyone who can do so is invited to join a party of carol singers outside Wormwood Scrubs prison at 7 p.m. on Thursday (Dec. 21).

Arrest stopped his research on penicillin

DON DeVault, Ph.D. in chemistry, was arrested at a US Government camp for COs at Germfask, Michigan, on Oct. 27 and charged with refusal to perform assigned duties. He had protested at the insignificance of "work of national importance" consisting of building duck-ponds and other projects on the wild life reservation at the camp.

For the previous month Dr. DeVault had devoted all his time to his research experiments on penicillin and related subjects. He had also used the \$5.00 paid monthly to the men at the camp (for 51 hours weekly of conscripted labour) for the purchase of chemicals and has given up his furlough time to research.

When charged by the camp director with refusal to work, Dr. DeVault submitted a detailed report of the experiments he had been performing. "The world society I live in has given me a lot of specialized training," he said. "I have wanted to make some use of it, in the best manner I know how, in constructive benefit to human society. For over a year I have been prevented from making much use of it at all."

Denied the right to continue his penicillin research by Selective Service, DeVault informed the government officials that he was "done with this foolishness" and would thereafter do his research work. Since Sep. 27 he had refused to report for the regular camp work.

Other COs at the Germfask camp feel that the case brings to a head the high-handed way in which Selective Service and the Bureau of Prisons have kept nearly 10,000 trained men at drudge-like tasks in prisons and labour camps, and as attendants in institutions for incurables at no wages, with only a handful, as a sop to public opinion, given work in keeping with their abilities.

DEMAND FOR PEACE BY AGREEMENT

Speaking on "The Folly of Unconditional Surrender" at a meeting called by Birmingham PPU at the Digbeth Institute, on Friday, Geoffrey Pitcock-Buss pointed out that the Germans were fighting fanatically in the West because of the absence of any Allied pronouncement to allay their fears. In the wake of the advancing armies the Allies were playing a counter-revolutionary role and suppressing the attempts of the people of the liberated countries to express their will. In the East the Soviet Union was proposing a post-war settlement in Poland which was utterly against the tenets of Communism and which could not but prepare the way for a future war.

A resolution calling for an agreed peace settlement based on justice was passed with one dissenter.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

Advertisements for next week's issue must arrive not later than first post tomorrow (Saturday), and for Dec. 29 issue by Friday, Dec. 22.

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Marke Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 1 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

HOUSES and Flats to let in all districts. Available to those offering tenancy of their present accommodation in exchange. Full details from National House and Flat Exchange, BCM/Registry, London, W.C.1. Please mention Peace News and enclose stamp.

WOMAN TEACHER seeks rooms Putney district. Box 716.

WRITER requires inexpensive London (central) accommodation in pacifist, vegetarian household, after Christmas. Furnished or unfurnished. Box 741.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

EDUCATIONAL

FREEMOUNT, Bacton, Hereford. Full freedom for individual development and expression in co-education. Personal care in communal home of lovely surroundings. Modern health principles. From 7 years. Katherine and Peter Young, M.A. Camb.

BURGESS HILL SCHOOL. Co-educational. Boarders 5-11 at Redhurst, Cranleigh. Day pupils 9-18 at 11 Oak Hill Park, N.W.3. High standard in social responsibility, academic subjects, art and music.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

BINOCULARS. MICROSCOPES, projectors, etc., bought, sold, exchanged. Mention Peace News, Appleton, 215 Anglesey Road, Burton-on-Trent.

BURLS CYCLES now at 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15. New ladies' and gents' models in stock from £8 19s. 6d. Repairs and accessories. Ring New Cross 4129.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. 30s. dozen, 18s. 6d. six, 10s. three, 3s. 6d. each, all postage paid. Mention models, colours, P.N. Hardmans, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

LATEST FASHION jewellery, ear clips, good money-raisers for bazaars, etc. Silver plated clips, attractive designs, carded, immediately delivered, 21s. per dozen pairs, sample 2s. no extras. Rumbelow, 22 Woodward Rd., S.E.22. FOR. 5586.

HAS anyone musical box for child five? Price must be reasonable. Spain, 6 Anchorage Close, Wimbledon, S.W.19.

LAND AND COMMUNITY LAND URGENTLY WANTED (no accommodation) for small-holding within 20 miles North London. Rent or buy. Box 744.

FRANCISCAN COMMUNITY (not Anglican) wants members for land-work, book business, etc. Married or unmarried. Postulants for priesthood and evangelistic work welcomed. 10 minutes from sea. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.5.

UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY. Pacifist farmer offers post-war tenancy cottage, sheds, 5 acres land on his farm, rent 10s. weekly, to buyer of sheep, cow, pony, poultry, tools, implements, cottage furniture all at £150. £75 now secures. Inventory available. Box 742.

LITERATURE, etc. TABLES for Reading the Bible through in a Year: Plan taking two portions from O.T. and one from N.T. every day, which makes the reading most interesting and profitable; because by this method the Bible largely becomes its own interpreter. Free, by post 1d. Viner Hall, Institute, Neva Road, Weston-super-Mare.

"LEARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free) for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway W.C.2.

SECOND-HAND BOOKS on theology, liturgy, mysticism, psychology, occultism, sociology, pacifism, fiction, etc. Lists or inquiries 2d stamp. No callers. Books bought Profits to Franciscan community Church vestments supplied. Kingdon Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.5.

IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT to humanitarians: "The Stamper of the Skies: a Bible for Animal Lovers." Compiled by Will Hayes from the Scriptures and folk-lore of all peoples. Beautifully illustrated. Boards 6s. paper 2s. 6d., postage 6d. The Order of the Great Companions, Hertha's Chapel, Meopham Green, Kent.

BOOKS WANTED to purchase: Dr. Smith's "Initia Graeca Key No. 2," Bronte's "Wuthering Heights." Books for sale, also (list 2d.). Treasurers, 137 Vaughan Rd., Harrow.

BOOKLETS on Bible Prophecy, Chronology, Christian Communism, the Kingdom of God etc. 6d. from Hon. Secretary, The Kingdom Movement, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

SOCIAL SECURITY. Rhys Davies on Government Proposals; "Indian Peasant" (Dr. Jameson); Vox Populi (Rev. H. J. Dale); Youth Section; "Way of Revival" (Patrick Figgis); three poems (Ronald Mallone); Commentary, reviews, letters, in "Christian Party News-Letter," 5d. PN20 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rummy, Cardiff.

ADVERTISER WISHES to invest savings in a business or enterprise with a view to post-war employment. Immediate return not so important as future prospects, nor employment sought at present. Box 719.

WOULD READERS with any unwanted toys help to brighten poor village children's Xmas. Gifts welcomed. D. R. Gray, "Shawthorne," Whitestone, nr. Exeter, Devon.

PACIFIST (widow), middle-aged, seeks contact pen-friends in Middlesex, view companionship. Box 745.

TELEGRAMS SENT TO BOX NOS. ARE FORWARDED FROM PN. OFFICE BY ORDINARY POST

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

PLASTERERS, other Tradesmen and Labourers required for South at North London house repairs. Rm JUL. 2065. Stewart and Richard Ltd., 34 Glenhurst Ave., N.W.5.

FREEMOUNT—small co-operative school—needs helper main cooking (vegetarian), interested progressive education and communal life with young staff. Early January. Bacton, Hereford.

WANTED, NURSE RECEPTION ST. Beginning of March, 1945, full-time surgeon in busy practice. Must be capable in clerical work and have initiative. Age anything over 18. Letters to William Astley, 122, Dover Street, W.1.

CRAFTSMEN, HANDY MEN, LABOURERS, full or part-time, required for bomb-damage repairs. Walthamstow district. Phone LAR 1904. (Mr. Coles.)

STRONG MAN REQUIRED as porter and for painting, distemper and keeping store nice, pleasant city, Midlands. (Previous experience of this work not necessary.) ALSO experienced piano tuner required. Will readers kindly make this known to any acquaintance likely to be interested. Write age, etc. Box 740.

EXPERIENCED JOINERS or handymen required for Board of Education and some other civil essential work. Pilgrim, 25 Selsdon Rd., S.E.27.

WANTED C.O. pensioners or not, man and wife, or two women for stated hours house and farm. Capable respectable people of good references essential, used private service. Furnished 5-roomed cottage, large garden, 15 min. bus route. Spencer-Watson, Dunshay, Langton Matravers.

LORRY DRIVER, also porter handyman required. Part-time might suit. Good health essential. Box 743.

MAN AND WIFE wanted as joint wardens, Paddington Junior Club. Must have experience. Good salary; flat available; details from C.B.C.O. Employment Dept., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

CATERPILLAR TRACTOR DRIVER required for forestry work (roughly within 50-mile radius London). Good money and lodging allowance. Write: Willkress, c/o 4 Margaret Cottages, Potters Park, Shenley, Herts.

INTERNATIONAL Voluntary Service for Peace requires full-time bursar to co-ordinate and develop efforts to raise money necessary for increased activities in relief, youth work, etc. Volunteers available can only be used if steady financial support is found. The bursar will not be highly paid but will be making a direct contribution to badly-needed relief work, etc. Apply Sec., I.V.S.P., 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

OPPORTUNITY OCCURS in London hospital for woman to learn duties of Almoner's Dept., including interviewing patients. Shorthand useful, but not essential, typing necessary. Particulars from C.B.C.O. Employment Dept., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

URGENT: 2 COOKS wanted small school January term only. Apply Sec., Redhurst, Cranleigh, Surrey.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

MARRIED C.O., age 24, seeks change. Elec. and engineering experience, able to drive. Adaptable. Unconditional exemption. Box 746.

WARDENS, husband and wife, with complete equipment for 20 beds, furniture, cooking, etc., would assist forestry group in difficulties in Lake District. Willing to take over house and cater for up to above number. Box 747.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

ALLYSO—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

MR. R. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21, has been sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment for refusing to obey a Ministry of Labour direction. During his absence his father, Mr. R. Bailey, who has worked with his son, will carry on the practice. (Palmer's Green 7868.)

FOUNTAIN PENS: all makes repaired, quick service. 25% discount offered to agents. Write: T.B.S., 310 Kennington Rd., S.E.11.

CAROL AMBA. Psychic consultant. Health, happiness, and finance. Will visit by appointment. KEN. 5961.

HEALTH HINTS, by correspondence. Stamp. BCM/Faith, London, W.C.1.

WOMEN'S APPEAL ON CHRISTMAS RATIONS

(continued from page one)

no particular nationality; we shall seek them out in our own community.

We hope that others will join with us, and write to the shop at which they are registered, the local Food Control Committee, the Minister of Food and the Foreign Office to say what they have done and why. We believe that paper protests are worth very little if we are not sufficiently moved to make a small sacrifice too. Children, invalids and the aged should not feel an obligation to take part in this gesture.

SOLEMN PLEDGE

What good will it do? Perhaps more good for human understanding and good will than politicians might imagine. We read recently a letter from a Belgian woman in Brussels who had somehow seen a British newspaper containing letters urging the sending of our Christmas rations to Belgium. Even if nothing came of it, she wrote, Belgian women would not forget what their English friends tried to do. We may be sure that the hungry will come to know of our pitiful gesture of friendship. We shall be content that they should judge of our sincerity.

But we will not give up hope. We remind Mr. Anthony Eden of his solemn promise in 1942 that when the time came we would help these people "even though at some expense of sacrifice to ourselves." We await the fulfilment of that pledge.

In our issue of Nov. 24 we quoted the Manchester Guardian's statement on Nov. 15 that the extra Christmas rations for Britain involved "some two thousand tons of basic food-stuffs." The Manchester Guardian, Dec. 7, apologised for "a slip which prevented our estimate from being given as 20,000 instead of 2,000 tons."

C.O.s' ADVISORY BUREAUX

Wandsworth: W. Winstanley now 37 Cale St., Chelsea, S.W.3.

Kettering: Sec. now Charles R. Thompson, 161 Stamford Rd., Kettering.

Axminster (Devon): individual adviser S. E. Hales now Norwyn House, Hunters Lodge, Axminster (no phone).

Delete Cornhill-on-Tweed.

Darlington: W. Nodding now 46 Staindrop Crescent, Darlington.

"We are hostile to a peace of revenge"

- chairman of Labour Party conference

Although Prof. H. J. Laski, acting Conference, in his opening address on continue to support Mr. Churchill un also contained the encouraging and give below:

AS socialists, we are hostile to any effort at a peace of revenge. We denounce with indignation the purveyors of hate, even when they pose as socialists. No doubt we must have safeguards against any repetition of the horrors we have witnessed. No doubt, also, we must punish those at whose door the direct responsibility for these horrors is found to be.

But for us, as socialists, the building of peace does not mean so adapting our mode of behaviour that it conforms to the canons of the Nazis or the Japanese. Our task is to create the conditions in which human nature, whether white or black or yellow, whether of our allies or of our enemies, has a genuine chance to revive the inherent dignity of which it is capable.

And, as we know that this capacity resides, under suitable conditions, in Americans or Russians or Chinese, so we are confident that it is similarly resident in Germans or Austrians, in Hungarians or Japanese. We are not so foolish as to regard the character of any nation as independent of the environment in which it functions. . . .

★

Our concern with the crimes of our enemies must not blind us to the heavy responsibilities we, too, have to bear. We look with eagerness to the day when Japan no longer dominates the Asiatic world.

But may I add, as a socialist, that we cannot forget, that we shall not permit our government or our leaders to forget, that India is a sub-continent in the Asiatic world. No British socialist can be happy while India remains a vast prison-house of which the keys are kept in Downing Street.

as chairman of the Labour Party Monday declared that the party should til victory was achieved, his speech "un-Churchillian" passages which we

THREE MORE LABOUR VIEWS

COMPARE the attitude towards the peace of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The AFL rejects the invitation to attend a World Labour Conference on the ground that Russia intends to use German labour to restore her devastated territories—a policy that "would continue human slavery." The CIO unanimously demands that "the German people must be taught that they shall atone for the crimes and horrors which they have visited on this earth." The AFL is generally reckoned a "reactionary" labour organization; the CIO is imputed to be progressive. The roles here are certainly reversed.

But the executive of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in London, declares that the war-ravaged regions must be restored in the spirit of international solidarity.

"With the enormous powers of production which exist in the world, this restoration can be accomplished in a short period, on the basis of honourable international co-operation between the peoples, provided that the common welfare is placed in the foreground and the common effort not hampered by sectional interests."

"By participation in the common effort the idea of international solidarity will be strengthened also between the peoples at war" (D. Herald, Nov. 28).

Let us hope that that spirit will triumph, in spite of all.

"A BRITISH INVENTION"

"Professor A. M. Low, the British scientist, said to a Newcastle Journal correspondent yesterday that 'it was most unfortunate that rockets were not travelling in the other direction', because they were experimented on in Britain for military purposes before the Germans ever used them. The rocket was most definitely a British invention."

—North Mail and Newcastle Journal, Nov. 11.

THE FREEDOM OF THE POOL

A study in black and white

EIGHT members of a newly organized Cleveland (USA) Committee of Racial Equality—three of them coloured and five white—went swimming in August in a local swimming pool normally used exclusively by whites.

And here is what happened, as described in the September issue (just received) of Equality, the monthly magazine of the Race Relations Dept. of the US Fellowship of Reconciliation:

"When the group entered the pool, the other occupants got out, and urged two of the policemen who were there to eject the inter-racial group. The policemen were firm in saying that the group had as much right there as anyone else.

"The mob spirit was slowly rising among regular patrons of the pool. One of the larger boys was heard to say: 'There's going to be trouble around here.' A policeman answered: 'You hadn't better be around when it starts, because I'm going to be right in the middle of that trouble.'

"George Houser,* who was with the inter-racial group, engaged in conversation with some members of the potential mob who had indicated that the Negroes should be thrown out. When asked if keeping Negroes out of the pool were right, they agreed that it might not be, but 'that's just the way things are done around here.' The last time Negroes were in the Garfield Park pool, they had been thrown over the fence by a gang of fellows, some of the regular patrons stated.

★

"Some members of the potential mob surrounded one of the Negro members of the group, and presented him with the stereotyped conceptions—that Negroes are diseased, dirty, and have no schooling. After a lengthy discussion, one fellow was heard to remark to his companion: 'He's all right!' His companion answered: 'Are you getting like that too?'

"One of the lifeguards was sympathetic with the inter-racial group. He was heard to say to some of the persons standing around him: 'I worked over at — pool for a while, where there are mostly coloured people, and they were easier to work with than you people here.' Later he said to George Houser: 'I hope you come back again. These kids need a lot of this kind of education.'

The report adds that many of the swimmers went again into the water, after the discussion, while some of the Negroes were still swimming.

*George Houser, Secretary of Action Projects for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has developed a plan calling for a group of volunteers for a period of two or three months to wage a full-time non-violent direct action campaign against racial inequality, in co-operation with leaders in race relations in some local community. It is hoped to put the plan into effect by next summer, or sooner.

HANDS OFF GREECE!

JOHN McGOVERN, M.P.

FENNER BROCKWAY

WALTER PADLEY

HOLBORN HALL, Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1
Tuesday, December 19th, 7.30 p.m.
LONDON I.L.P.

BEDFORD Begins— News-Letter January 1st, 1945

"To prepare the path to peace and prosperity and to unite those who view current propaganda with scepticism and current events with alarm."

Annual Subscription 10/-; Six Months 5/6

Sample Copy 6d.

From Sec., Bedford News-Letter, Cairns-
more, Newton Stewart, Scotland.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Ottoman rule, has it in his bones that Government comes from another place, and is inevitably oppressive and corrupt. The Greek merchant and politician of the cities belongs to another race psychologically. He is the heir and successor of those Greeks who served the Ottoman Empire: he is the Levantine. He took to democratic "politics" as a duck to water. It was a game of intrigue for the spoils of government, to which he had been used—in a subordinate capacity—for centuries.

The monarchist restoration of Kondylis and the dictatorship of Metaxas were, in the main, aimed at efficient government. To call them Fascist and dismiss them is stupid. And it is doubtful whether the monarchy is, or has ever been, really unpopular with the Greek peasantry. They have had all too little opportunity of expressing any real opinion, for generations. Elections are "made" in Greece.

Paying for it

ACTUALLY, of course, in being compelled to participate in Greek civil war we are paying the penalty of the manifestly immoral policy of supplying arms to anybody who would "kill Huns." Mr. Churchill's flippancy about this cynical policy is appalling: yet not one of his critics in the Commons save Mr. McGovern took issue with him on it.

"During the war of course we have had to arm anyone who would shoot a Hun, apart from his character, political convictions, past record and so forth. If they were out to shoot a Hun we accepted them as friends and tried to enable them to fulfil their healthy instincts" (laughter and cheers).

Mr. McGovern: "Now you are paying for it!"

"We are paying for it in having this debate today which personally I have found rather enjoyable so far. We are paying for it also with our treasure and our blood. We are not paying for it by our honour or by defeat."

That is terrifying. For it is the moral cynicism of Hitler in a plausible dress: Hitler with a joke and a cigar. *Tout se paie*, said Napoleon. And this nation will pay for Mr. Churchill—to the last farthing.

Mr. Churchill triumphed over his

critics: because they did not challenge his basic political immorality. Yet it is obvious that this policy of his can have but one effect: to carry on and intensify the destruction by the Nazis of the foundations of morality and lawful society in Europe.

Out of date

IT is very galling for Mr. Churchill to be publicly rebuked by Mr. Stettinius: but it is poetic justice. If during these five years of war a British Prime Minister is capable of evolving no farther-seeing policy for Europe than preserving the life-line of the British Empire, events will kick back at him.

To devastate Europe for the sake of the British Empire is—in 1944—about as near to insanity as one can get and remain Prime Minister. For the foundations of the British Empire have dissolved away in the process of the war. The British Empire, if it continues to exist at all, will exist by the polite sufferance of greater powers—not by its own strength, or that of the King's Navee.

Balance-of-power politics—that is, the policy whereby Britain encouraged disunity in Europe in order to avoid being embarrassed in its empire-building was moribund in 1914; in 1944 it is a stinking corpse. The potential anarchy which balance of power contained is become actual; because British policy has carried on by its own inertia instead of being reinvigorated by a dash of imagination and responsibility. British interests have long demanded that we should work for the United States of Europe.

A new United States

THE great opportunity has been lost: indeed thrown away. The United States of Europe should have been clearly proclaimed as the goal of British policy the moment that Britain decided to fight on after the collapse of France: the United States of Europe as against Hitler's European Empire. On condition that he

subscribed to that policy we should have helped de Gaulle; on condition that he accepted that policy we should have signed the treaty with Stalin.

Obsessed by the purely negative purpose of destroying Germany by any means, Mr. Churchill's mind could not rise beyond the idea of an Anglo-French amalgamation against Germany. The United States of Europe must have included Germany. Had it been proclaimed it would have prevented the fatal policy of "Unconditional Surrender"; it would have given the decent elements in Germany something to hope and work for; it would have saved us from the odium of betraying the Poles; it would have spared us the indignity of hurrying to Moscow to receive our instructions. Nor could Moscow have pretended that the United States of Europe was aimed against her—the unity of a voluntary federation is defensive, not aggressive.

Destroying Europe

NOW it is too late. Fantastic covenants have been entered into whereby Germany is to be permanently dismembered. Germany, determined to resist to the last, prolongs the struggle to the point at which the anarchy of Europe cannot be contained. Instead of rebuilding Europe we are condemned to go on physically and morally destroying it.

Because Britain, in the person of Mr. Churchill, has been too timid and too selfish and too unimaginative to counter Hitler's false idea of unity with the true one, it is become an accomplice in his nihilism. Against the desperate defence of a Germany that has nothing to hope for save from the memory of its own heroism, we can only push forward a mechanical juggernaut of obliteration: it toils up Italy, it crawls to the Siegfried line.

One day, no doubt, Germany will collapse. On that day Britain will be impotent to shore up the ruins of Europe—it also will be physically and spiritually exhausted.